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GREAT SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP,

At New London, Conn., October 18.

THE PRINCIPLES AND INTERESTS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AGAINST THE UNION.

The Election of McClellan the only hope for Union and Peace.

NEW LONDON, Conn., Oct. 18.

Hon. Robert C. Winthrop addressed the citizens of New London, on Tuesday evening, at Lawrence Hall. The meeting could not have been larger without an extension of the walls of the building. The front seats and galleries were occupied by many ladies, and the audience was composed of the eminently solid and respectable people of the community.

Mr. Waller, the President of the McClellan Club, called the meeting to order, and nominated for chairman, Hon. Abiel Converse.

Mr. Winthrop now came upon the platform and was received with the greatest enthusiasm. He was introduced by the chairman, as follows:

Fellow-citizens: We are to-night honored with the presence of a distinguished gentleman, who fondly turns to New London as the birthplace of his father and the home of a long line of illustrious ancestors; a gentleman whose elegant culture and enlightened statesmanship have made him a national—nay, a world-wide reputation; a gentleman who in the better days of the republic was a leading spirit in the national Whig party, but who to-night stands with us shoulder to shoulder in the ranks of the only Constitutional Union party of the country—the party which proposes to place in the Presidential chair George B. McClellan. (Loud cheers.) Fellow-citizens, allow me to present to you the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop.

After the cheering with which he was greeted had subsided, Mr. Winthrop spoke as follows:

MR. WINTHROP'S SPEECH.

Fellow Citizens: I am deeply sensible to the kindness and the compliment of this reception. I thank

you for this inspiring welcome to your city. I have come at your request to address you on the great subject which is uppermost in all our minds and in all our hearts. I am here for no purpose of declamation or display. I am here to appeal to no prejudices or passions. No arts of rhetoric can meet the exigencies of this hour. If I were ever capable of them, I abandon and discard them all to-night. I am here only from a deep sense of the duty which rests upon each one of us to contribute what we can by word or by deed, for a suffering, bleeding country. Compelled by engagements or by my health, to refuse a hundred other invitations, I could not resist the appeal which was made to me from New London. (Applause.) And if any word of mine may be thought worthy of being listened to or regarded, in Connecticut or elsewhere, there is no place from which it may more fitly go forth than from this old and honored home of my fathers. (Applause.) It is a time, I am aware, my friends, when the best and wisest, and most patriotic men may differ, and do differ, widely from each other. I would cast no reproaches upon my opponents. I do not forget the reproaches which have been cast upon myself in some quarters; but I have no heart for bandying personalities at a period like this. I pass by all such matters as unworthy of a moment's consideration. Or rather, let me say, they pass by me like the idle wind. The air, indeed, is full of them. Arbitrary and arrogant assumptions of superior patriotism and loyalty—coarse and malicious representations and imputations—opprobrious and insulting names and epithets, often applied by men who might well be conscious that nobody deserves them so much as themselves—the air is full of them. They come swarming up from stump and rostrum, and press and platform.

We meet them at every turn. Let us not retort them. Let us not resent them. Let no one by any means be tempted or provoked by them into acts of vengeance or violence. Let us simply overwhelm them with contempt, and pass on, unawed and un-intimidated, to the declaration of our own honest opinions, and to the assertion and exercise of our rights as freemen. (Applause.) Let us imitate the example of our own noble candidate, whose quiet endurance of injustice and calumny has been one of the most beautiful illustrations of his character, and has won for him a respect which will outlive the ephemeral notoriety of his revilers. Our country calls at this moment for the best thoughts, the bravest counsels, the freest utterances, the most unhesitating devotion of every one of her sons. Let us compare our opinions with each other honestly, independently, fearlessly; and let no man shrink from following his own conscientious convictions, wherever they may lead him. It may be a misfortune, fellow-citizens, that a new election of our national rulers should have come upon us precisely at this moment. We would all gladly keep our eyes steadily fixed upon our country's flag, as it waves and wavers upon yonder battle fields. We would willingly follow its gallant supporters, in the conflicts in which they are engaged, with undivided and uninterrupted sympathies. But it is not in our power to postpone the time appointed for our great political struggle. The Constitution of the United States has fixed that time unalterably, and nothing remains for us but to discharge our duties as intelligent and responsible citizens. A great, a tremendous responsibility, certainly, is upon us. When the votes of the people of the United States—your votes, Men of New London, and mine among them shall have once decided the question—by what party and upon what principles and policy the national government shall be administered for the next four years—they will have determined, under God, the destinies of our country for unborn generations. No one in his senses can doubt that the results of the administration of the next four years will be decisive of the fate of this republic. Within that period the Union is to be saved or lost. Within that period the Constitution is to be vindicated or overthrown. Within that period the old flag of our fathers is to be re-advanced in triumph over all the States of which it has ever been, or ever borne, the emblem; or, rent in twain and shorn of half its lustre, it is to droop over a divided land. If the stake of the impending contest, my friends, were anything less than this, if anything less or anything other than the rescue of the Union and the salvation of the republic, were to be the result of this election, we might well hesitate about entering into a political struggle and arraying ourselves against an existing administration in a time of civil war. But with such an issue of national life, or national death, before us, there ought to be, there can be, no hesitation on the part of any patriotic citizen. Every one of us, young and old, is called upon by considerations from which there can be no appeal, by obligations from which there can be no escape, to form a careful, dispassionate, conscientious opinion as to his own individual duty, and then to perform that duty without flinching or filtering. We may be pardoned for an honest mistake. We may be excused for an error of judgment. But we can never be excused, before men or before God, for standing neutral and doing nothing. There is no exemption from this warfare. Not only should it be written on every man's forehead what he thinks of the republic; but no man should give sleep to his eyes or slumber to his eyelids without asking himself: What can I do for my country? How can I exercise that most precious of all privileges, that greatest of all rights, the elective franchise, in a way to rescue her from the dangers by which she is encompassed? (Applause.)

GRATITUDE FOR VICTORIES.

And now, my friends, the first emotion which belongs to these occasions of assembling ourselves together, and the one to which we are all and always most eager to give expression, is that of joy and gladness and gratitude for the signal successes which have been recently vouchsafed to our arms. (Cheers.) Most signal they certainly have been. It cannot be denied that, since the nomination of Gen. McClellan was promulgated at Chicago (loud cheers), the military aspect of our affairs has been greatly improved. The gallant Sherman at Atlanta (cheers), and the daring and dashing Sheridan, in the Shenandoah valley (cheers), have achieved victories of vital importance to the cause of the Union; and most heartily would we unite with our fellow-citizens of all parties in paying a well-earned tribute of respect and admiration to the commanders, and to the soldiers, who have been instrumental in accomplishing these glorious results. (Applause.) We are told, indeed, that all these victories are impairing the prospects of our own political success, and diminishing the chances of General McClellan's election to the Presidency. (Laughter.) But we rejoice in them all, notwithstanding, and thank God for them with undivided hearts. ("Yes, yes.") The more of them the better, whatever may be their influence on the election before us. We are content to be so defeated—if that be their legitimate, or even their illegitimate, result—we are more than content. I venture to say, that our noble candidate would rejoice as heartily as President Lincoln himself at every success of our arms, even should the consequences be to leave him without a single electoral vote. He had rather see his country saved, and the Union restored, and the Constitution rescued, than to secure the highest honor for himself which it is in the power of man to bestow. Let us congratulate him, and let us congratulate each other—for we have a right so to do—that his nomination has roused the administration to new efforts. Let us rejoice that the army has been spurred on to redeem the failures of the civil policy of the administration. (Cheers.) The supporters of General McClellan may well be satisfied—even should they accomplish nothing more—with having given an impulse to the prosecution of the war, which not only affords the best promise of military success in the future, but which has already given so glorious an earnest of the fulfillment of that promise.

But why, why, my friends, should success on the battle field diminish the chances of General McClellan's election? What possible reason is there for such a result? Nobody imagines, I presume, that the hero of Antietam would be a less prudent or a less skillful superintendent of our military affairs than Abraham Lincoln or Secretary Stanton. Nobody dreams that he would be likely to interfere disadvantageously with the conduct of the war. The President, certainly, could not have thought so, when he so obviously connived a few weeks ago at offering him a high command, if he would only decline to be a candidate for the Presidency. (Laughter and applause.) The Republican party will hardly be ready to accuse the President of being willing to buy off a dangerous competitor at the expense of putting a doubtful general into the field.

VICTORIES ALONE CANNOT RESTORE PEACE.

No, it is the civil policy of the government which General McClellan is relied upon to change. It is the civil policy of the administration which imperatively demands to be changed. We believe that this civil policy of the administration has prevented all our military successes in the past, and will, if continued, prevent all our military successes in the future from effecting the great end for which we are contending—the only end for which we could constitutionally take up arms. We believe that this civil policy—if anything the administration has recently done can fairly be called civil (laughter)—has been calculated to extin-

guish every spark of Union sentiment in the Southern States; that it has been calculated to drive those States finally out of the Union, instead of being adapted to draw them back to their old allegiance. ("That's so." Cheers.) We believe that this civil policy has tended to breathe a spirit of defiance and desperation into the breasts of every southern man and woman and child, that it has rendered the work of our own brave soldiers a thousand fold harder to be achieved, and has thus far given them only a barren and fruitless victory, whenever they have succeeded. Who is there wild enough to imagine that mere military triumphs can accomplish that great consummation of Union and peace, which is the devout wish and prayer of every patriotic heart? (Applause.) Why, my friends, we may go on conquering and to conquer month after month, and year after year; we may overcome armies, we may take possession of cities, we may strip and devastate whole territories and regions of country, we may make a solitude and call it peace; but the restoration of the old Union of our fathers, with all the States in their constitutional relations to the General Government, and all the stars upon the folds of our country's flag will require something more than any mere force of arms can effect. (Applause.) Nobody saw this more clearly, or admitted it more frankly than President Lincoln himself, when he declared so emphatically in his inaugural address: "Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you." The great advantage of victories, my friends, is in opening the way for a wise, conciliatory, healing policy to come in and settle the questions at issue; and it is thus at the very moment when those victories are achieved, that we most need men at the head of the Government who can turn the triumphs of our armies to the only account for which they are worth a straw. It is this—this application of a wise, conciliatory, healing policy—which must follow close upon the track of military triumph in order to render it fruitful,—it is this for which the present administration, as we think, is wholly incapacitated, and for which we believe a new administration is the great and paramount necessity of the hour. It is in this view that victories, instead of impairing the prospects of General McClellan's election, ought to plead trumpet-tongued in his behalf. The question prompted by every victory should be, "Where, where are the men who can turn all this conflict and carnage to account, and render a repetition of it needless? Where are the men who can save us from the reproach of having shed all this precious blood in vain, and can originate and pursue a policy which shall make that blood effective for the healing of the nation? Where are the men, where is the man, who can extricate his country from impending ruin, by first extricating himself from all mere sectional and partisan pledges and entanglements, and by planting himself on the simple platform of the Constitution?" (Loud cheers.) These are the questions which each succeeding victory should call upon us to put to ourselves, and these are the questions which, in my judgment, can only be satisfactorily answered by the resolution to change the administration. If any man would vote for General McClellan in case our military successes had not occurred, a hundred fold more should vote for him now. (Cheers.) Without those successes it would have mattered little who was President. We could have accomplished nothing. But with them a way is opened for a new President to restore Union and peace to our land. Shall we not have a new President to take advantage of that opening? ("Yes, yes.")

A CHANGE OF CIVIL POLICY DEMANDED.

But let us look at the issue before us a little more closely, and more deliberately. You will not expect me, my friends, to go back to the origin of the great

struggle in which we are involved. I can tell you nothing about the history of the past which is not abundantly familiar to you. You all know that a wanton and unjustifiable rebellion against our national government was inaugurated in South Carolina nearly four years ago; that it soon expanded to the proportions of the most gigantic civil war the world has ever witnessed, and that it is raging madly and wildly still. You all know the story of its rise and progress. You all know how much treasure and how much blood it has already cost. And you all know what has been accomplished. You have followed our brave soldiers and sailors in all their toils and perils, in all their reverses and in all their triumphs, on the land and on the sea, from that first most impressive scene at Fort Sumter, when the stars and stripes were lifted by the gallant Anderson on the breath of solemn prayer, down to the latest achievements of Sherman, and Farragut, and Sheridan, at Atlanta, and in Mobile Bay, and in the Valley of the Shenandoah. (Cheers.) You have watched, too, the course of our civil rulers at Washington. Their shifting and drifting policy—as it has been strangely developed in resolutions and proclamations, and manifestoes, "To whom it may concern," is familiar to you all. You know what they have promised, and you know what they have performed in the past; and you know what they propose for the future. And now it is for you, and for each one of you to say, whether you are satisfied to recommit the final destinies of this republic to the same hands; whether you are satisfied that the men now in power are in the way of bringing this fearful struggle to a safe and successful termination; whether, in a word, you are ready to take your share of the responsibility of continuing their domination through that presidential term of all others, which is to decide whether there shall ever again be a President over the whole United States of America? (Applause.) For myself, as I have said elsewhere, I have reflected deliberately and deeply on this question, and I have in vain attempted to resist the conclusion, that the best interests of our country, and the best hopes of restoring the Union of our country, demand a change of our national rulers. I have not been able to resist the conclusion, that almost any other party would be more able than the Republican party, and almost any other President would be more likely than Abraham Lincoln, to accomplish that great consummation which every Christian patriot ought to have, and must have, at heart—the earliest practicable restoration of Union, and peace, and constitutional liberty to our afflicted land. I have not been able to resist the conviction that there would be a better chance under any other administration than the present for speedily effecting a termination of the rebellion, upon that basis of "the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is," which is the only legitimate aim of loyal men. (Cheers.)

CONCERNING THE SWAPPING OF HORSES.

And let me say, in the first place, my friends, that I should have come to this conclusion, as I think, without any regard to the peculiar policy which the Administration has adopted during the last two years. I should have come to this conclusion upon the same plain, common sense views which President Lincoln himself seems to have expressed upon a somewhat similar state of facts. Some of you may remember, perhaps, to have seen an account of an interview which certain very earnest anti-slavery gentlemen, of Massachusetts, held with the President not a great while ago, on the subject of substituting Gen. Fremont for my old and valued friend Edward Stanley, now of California, as the Provisional Governor of North Carolina. The account is given in a letter written by the Rev. Mr. Conway, dated London, July 20, 1864, and published in the Boston *Commonwealth*. In that letter President Lincoln is represented as saying, in his most characteristic style, "Gentlemen, it is generally the case that a man who begins a work is not the best man to carry it on to a suc-

cessful termination. (Laughter.) I believe it was so (he proceeded to say) in the case of Moses. Wasn't it? He got the children of Israel out of Egypt, but the Lord selected somebody else to bring them to their journey's end. A pioneer (continued President Lincoln) has hard work to do, and generally gets so battered and spattered that people prefer another, even though they may accept the principle. (Continued laughter.) Now, the letter of Mr. Conway gives us the application of these remarks in a manner that could hardly be mended. It quietly suggests that "Mr. Lincoln is averse to seeing the application of whatever truth there is in his theory to the one to whom it particularly applies—*himself*," and Mr. Conway most pertinently adds: "Under him the war was begun; he had to deal with the disaffected; is it not possible that he has become so *battered and spattered* as to make it well for him to give up the leadership to some Joshua?" (Loud laughter and cheering.) It would seem, my friends, that nothing was said at this interview about "the danger of swapping horses in crossing a stream." (Laughter.) On the contrary, the President emphatically appealed to that memorable precedent in Holy Writ when the children of Israel, being themselves about to cross a stream, were compelled to follow a new leader, in order to get safely over. "I believe it was so (said he) in the case of Moses, wasn't it?" We all know it was so. We all know that the children of Israel could never have crossed the Jordan and entered into the promised land, had they refused to accept Joshua as their leader. And some of us are not a little afraid that the same fatality which attended the ancient Moses, is about to find a fresh illustration in the case of our modern Abraham. (Laughter and cheers.)

THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION A STUNNELING BLOCK IN THE WAY OF THE RESTORATION OF THE UNION.

Why, my friends, no one of us can have forgotten how much there was of mere personal prejudice and personal antipathy at the outset of that outrageous assault upon the national government by the Southern States. No one of us can fail to remember how deeply political and party antagonism entered into the origin of this rebellion. It has been said a thousand times, and everybody admits it to be true, that the first treasonable and fatal step could never have been taken but for the election of Abraham Lincoln as President. It has been said a thousand times, and no man denies it, that the Southern secession leaders—long as they may have contemplated their conspiracy against the Union, and earnestly as they may have desired to accomplish a separation of the States—could never have mustered followers enough to embolden them to attempt it, but for the success of the Republican party. We all know that the secession leaders aided and abetted the election of President Lincoln for that very purpose. (Applause.) He was their favorite candidate then, as I think he is their favorite candidate now. It was the triumph of that great sectional organization—the Republican party—which was originally relied upon for firing the heart of the Southern people. We cannot forget that the war cry of the South, at the time of their original revolt, was not so much—"We will not submit to the Constitution." "We will not abide by the Union," as "we will not have these men to rule over us." "We will not come under the dominion of the Black Republicans." Fellow-citizens, I need not say that this conduct on the part of the Southern States was utterly unwarrantable and worthy of all condemnation. The Republican party, to which I shall myself apply no opprobrious epithets, had prevailed fairly at the polls. The Southern States had enjoyed their full proportionate share in the national vote, and they were bound in honor as well as in law, to abide by the result. Nothing but the most direct and palpable violation of their rights would have furnished any shadow of justification for the course which they pursued. Abraham Lincoln was duly

elected President of the United States for four years. I rejoice that he was elected for no more than four. (Laughter.) And though some of us at the North, as well as so many at the South, were earnestly opposed to him and to his party, and though not a few of us predicted the very results which have ensued, it was the bounden duty and sacred obligation of us all alike to acquiesce in the result, and to support him as long as he supported the Constitution. And I thank Heaven that the loyal States have supported him so unanimously. I thank Heaven that the whole people of the Northern States have sustained the government so ardently, and fought the battles of the Union so bravely under whatever leaders they have found in rightful authority over them. (Cheers.) No government on earth in any age has ever been sustained with a nobler disregard of all party prejudices and all personal opinions than our own government for the last four years. Men and money have been supplied without measure and without a murmur. Few and far between have been the voices of dissent or the notes of discord. Where men could not approve the policy of the administration, they have generally been content to be silent, or at most to enter a passing protest in respectful terms. The exceptional cases, to which so much attention has been pointed, by the needless and unjustifiable severity with which they have been treated, have only served to illustrate more strikingly the general acquiescence of the people. And as it has been in the past, so it still is. We are all of us, I need not say ready and eager to sustain the administration in carrying on the government, and vindicating its constitutional authority, to the end of their term. We are ready to raise the men, we are ready to contribute the means, for a vigorous prosecution of the war. We will help them even to another draft, if another draft be necessary. We will pay our taxes and encourage their loans. We will rejoice in all their victories by sea and by land. They are no party triumphs. They are our victories as well as theirs. Sherman has taken Atlanta, and Sheridan has almost cleared the Shenandoah. We all hope and trust and pray that Grant and Meade may soon take Richmond (loud cheers), and that the brave work of our soldiers and sailors may go on unimpeded till nothing remains to be effected by force of arms. They shall have the best wishes of all our hearts, and the best help of all our hands to this end. But all this, my friends, is a different part of speech from supporting the claims of the Administration to a new term of the Presidency and a new lease of the White House. ("That's so," and laughter.) And now that after four years of civil war, waged at such an expenditure of life and treasure as the history of the world never before witnessed—now that a new election of rulers has come regularly round, is it not fit, is it not wise, is it not loyal and patriotic, for those who do not and cannot approve the policy of the Administration, and who have no faith in their capacity to accomplish the restoration of the Union, to call upon them to withdraw from the high places of the land, and to make way for men, against whom the Southern heart is not so hopelessly inflamed and embittered? Is it not the solemn duty of the people of the United States to ask themselves the question, whether, as things now stand, and in view of all the prospects before us, it is quite expedient, or quite just, to continue in place a President and a party, whose original election, justly or unjustly, was the immediate occasion of so deplorable a rebellion? Have not the people a right to ask—is it not their duty to ask—whether a simple change of administration might not do something, might not do much towards removing a stumbling-block in the way of the restoration of the Union; toward destroying the unanimity and mitigating the ferocity of our southern foes; toward conciliating the feelings of our southern friends if there are any still left; and thus toward opening the way for an easier progress of our arms and an earlier triumph of

the great cause for which we are contending? (Applause.)

WHAT A PATRIOT IN LINCOLN'S PLACE WOULD HAVE SAID SIX MONTHS AGO?

Fellow citizens, I am not here to indulge in any personal imputations upon President Lincoln. Though I have never been one of his partisan supporters, I have never been one of his revilers. And let me say, in passing, that he has received harder blows from some of his own household—from Senator Wade and Representative Winter Davis and General Fremont, and from others who have been less brave and less open, but not less violent in their denunciations of him, than he has from any of his opponents. But I cannot help remarking, that in my humble judgment, he would have adopted a course worthy of all commendation if, instead of talking about swapping horses in crossing a stream, he could have been induced to say, six months ago, to the people of the United States, something of this sort:

"Fellow Citizens, you elect me fairly your President, and the President of the whole Union, four years ago. I have done my best to vindicate my title to the trust you conferred upon me, and I shall continue to do so to the end of my term. You of the loyal States have nobly supported me. You have given me all the men and all the money I have asked for. You have borne and borne with me in many changes of policy, and in all the assertions of arbitrary power to which I have thought it necessary to resort. I shall go on to the best of my ability to the end of my allotted term. But I am ready then to return to the ranks. No pride of place, no love of patronage or power, shall induce me to stand in your way for a moment in your great struggle to restore the Union of our fathers. I do not forget how much of personal prejudice and party jealousy were arrayed against me at the outset. I do not forget how deeply political and sectional antagonisms entered into the causes of this rebellion. I am not insensible that the policy which I have recently felt constrained to adopt has increased and aggravated those prejudices and those antagonisms. Select a new candidate. Choose a new President, against whom, and against whose friends, there will be less of preconceived hostility and hate; and may God give him wisdom and courage to save the country and restore the Union." Ah, my friends, what a glorious example of patriotic self-denial and magnanimity this would have been! Who would not have envied President Lincoln the opportunity of exhibiting it? I am by no means sure it would not have re-elected him President in spite of himself. But it would certainly have gone far, very far, towards securing unanimity in favor of some worthy successor; and it was the way, and the only way to prevent that division of the Northern sentiment which is in some quarters so earnestly deplored as unfavorable to the success of our arms. (Applause.)

HOW MR. LINCOLN ABIDES BY HIS "NO-SWAP" POLICY.

But President Lincoln has thought fit to adopt the very reverse of this magnanimous and self-denying policy. He has quite forgotten that *one term* principle to which he and I were committed as members of the old Whig party. We see him clinging eagerly and desperately to patronage and place. We see him demanding to be re-nominated—demanding to be re-elected and claiming it almost as a test of patriotism and loyalty that we should all with one accord support him for four years more. We hear his Secretary of State comparing a vote against Abraham Lincoln to giving aid and comfort to the rebels, and even indulging in what is well called a portentous threat, that if the people shall dare to choose a new President, the government will be abdicated, and left to fall to pieces of itself, between the election and the inauguration. An absurd

assumption, that a support of the government must necessarily involve a support of the policy of an existing administration,—this absurd and preposterous assumption, which has been put forward so arrogantly during the last year or two, is now pushed on to the monstrous length of maintaining that, patriotism demands the re-election of an existing President in time of war, even though a majority of the people may have no confidence in the capacity of the incumbent, either for conducting the war or for negotiating a peace. (Cheers.) No changing Presidents in the hour of danger or struggle is the cry. No swapping horses in crossing a stream. Everything else may be changed or swapped. You may change commanders-in-chief in the very face of the enemy; you may remove a gallant leader, as you did General McClellan, (tremendous cheering,) when he had just achieved one glorious victory, and was on his way to the almost certain achievement of another, (continued cheering;) you may swap Secretaries of War, as you did Cameron for Stanton (laughter;) you may swap Secretaries of the Treasury, as you did Chase for Fessenden; you may swap Postmaster-Generals, as you have just done, Blair for Dennison, (continued laughter;) you may change your candidates for the Vice-Presidency, "handy-dandy," and leave Mr. Hannibal Hamlin to shoulder his musket in a Bangor militia company, (laughter.) Thus far you may go, but no further. You must not touch me. (Laughter.) You must not change Presidents. Patriotism requires that Abraham Lincoln should be exempt from all such casualties. And so we are all to be drummed into voting for him under a threat of the pains and penalties of treason. Indeed, my friends, this extraordinary doctrine is getting to be a little contagious about these times; and from some recent manifestations in my own part of the country at least—however it may be here or elsewhere—I should suppose it was fast becoming a cherished dogma among officeholders of all grades, both national and State, that the only true patriotism consisted in keeping them all snugly in place, and that a failure to vote for any or all of them was little better than disloyalty to the government! It is certainly very accommodating in our Presidents and governors, and senators, and representatives, thus to save the people the trouble of an election. (Laughter.) If the war only lasts four years more, we shall, perhaps, be spared the trouble of elections altogether. ("That's true.") My friends, if the people are wise, they will give some of their public servants a lesson on this subject before it is too late, and teach them that the freedom of elections is too precious a privilege to be abandoned at the dictation of those who have already enjoyed a greater length of service, as some of us think, than is altogether consistent with the public welfare and the public safety. The progress of this terrible war is leaving its mark on not a few of our most cherished privileges as freemen. An over-shadowing doctrine of necessity has obliterated not a few of the old constitutional limitations and landmarks of authority. An armed prerogative has gradually lifted itself to an appalling height throughout the land. But, thank heaven, it is still in the power of the people to assert their right to a fair and free election of their rulers. (Loud cheers.) And if they shall do so successfully—whatever may be the result—no nobler spectacle will have been witnessed in this land since it first asserted its title to be called a land of liberty. (Cheers.) Let it be seen that the American people can go through a Presidential election freely and fairly, even during the raging storm of civil war, and our institutions will have had a glorious triumph, whatever party, or whatever candidate may suffer a defeat. But, on the other hand, let the approaching election be overawed, or overruled by force or by fraud, and our institutions will have sustained a disastrous defeat, whatever may be the result to parties or to candidates. (Applause.)

THE UNION INIMICAL TO THE INTERESTS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

And here, fellow-citizens, let me say, that in this eager and desperate determination of the President and his party to prolong their official supremacy at all hazards, and even by the most unblushing exercise of all the patronage and power, and influence of the government, in their own behalf, I find renewed reason for fearing that they cannot safely be trusted for an early restoration of "the Union as it was, under the Constitution as it is." No one can help seeing that it is by no means for their interest, as a party, to accomplish that result. No one can help seeing that such a restoration, under present circumstances, would give the finishing stroke to that political supremacy which they so eagerly seek to perpetuate. They themselves, certainly, are not blind, nor indifferent to the fact that when the South shall return to its allegiance, their own party domination is at an end. Why, we all know how it was, even when the Republican party achieved its first and only great success by the election of President Lincoln. We all remember that even then their sceptre would have proved a powerless and barren sceptre, if there had been no secession and no rebellion. We all remember that if the Senators and Representatives of the Southern States had not withdrawn so rashly and wantonly from their seats, the Republican party would soon have been in a helpless minority in one, if not in both branches of Congress. They could not have carried a measure, they could not have confirmed a nomination without the co-operation or consent of their opponents. And does anybody imagine that if the South were to lay down their arms to-morrow, and come back again into the old family fold, they would send any Senators or Representatives to Washington, whoever they might be, to sustain the measures or the men of the Republican party? No, my friends, that party itself sees plainly that no such thing is within the prospect of belief. That party sees that the restoration of union and peace under the old Constitution of our fathers is thus the end and upshot of their own dynasty. How, then, can we help fearing that they will willingly, if not systematically, postpone a result which is so sure to cut them off from any further enjoyment of power—that of that power to which they are clinging with so phrenzied and frantic a grasp? The truth is, that the Republican party have so thriven and fattened on this rebellion, and it has brought them such an overflowing harvest of power—patronage, offices, contracts and spoils, and they have become so enamored of the vast and overshadowing influence which belongs to an existing administration at such an hour, that they are in danger of forgetting that their country is bleeding and dying on their hands. ("That's so." Applause.) And this suggests to me, my friends, an idea to which I cannot refrain from giving a brief expression. You have not forgotten, I am sure, that most memorable period which immediately preceded the inauguration of President Lincoln, when the minds and hearts of so many good men throughout the country were earnestly intent on devising some mode of arresting and averting that terrible struggle in which we were so soon afterward involved. You all remember that Peace Convention, as it was called, which assembled at Washington in February, 1861. You all remember the high and sanguine hopes which greeted its assembly; and you have not forgotten—no patriot can ever forget—how sadly those hopes were disappointed. For one, I have never for a moment doubted that if the incoming President and his friends in Congress had given countenance and encouragement to that convention, and to the measures it proposed, the secession would have ended with South Carolina and the Gulf States, and we should have had Union and peace before six months had expired. The rebellion would have been nipped in the bud. It would have been crashed in the egg, and the wounds it had occasioned would

have healed up, as the surgeons say, *by first intention*. I could furnish the opinions of some of the best men in our country, living and dead, to the effect. And why, why was that convention so repelled and repudiated by the ultra wing of the Republican party? Why did they stand idly by mocking at every effort to prevent and avert this great and terrible struggle, and rejoicing at what they called the glorious future before them? How can any one doubt that it was because the secession of the South, and the withdrawal of the Southern representation, would secure that party predominance which was essential to the carrying out of their cherished policy, as well as to the distribution of the spoils of victory. I was at Washington myself, during a portion of that period, in company with friends whom I esteem and honor to day, as I esteemed and honored then, though I find myself differing from more than one of them. We went on as the bearers of a petition of fifteen thousand citizens of Boston for the adoption of measures of conciliation and peace. It is not for me to say, even if I knew, what views were brought back by others of that little embassy; but I cannot forget the painful impression which was left upon my own mind, that there were men there, and in high places, too, who, instead of lifting a finger to arrest the dreadful catastrophe which was so obviously impending, were gloating and glorying over the departure of the successive southern delegations as furnishing a clearer field for the more successful prosecution of their own fanatical views, and for the more undisputed establishment of their own party supremacy. And can it be imagined that such men will be ready or willing to co-operate in bringing back the Southern States to their old allegiance to the Union? In bringing them back too, be it remembered, not merely with their old quota of representation, but with a much larger delegation in the House of Representatives than they have ever before enjoyed? For, my friends, if the President's proclamation is to have the full interpretation and sweeping efficacy which some of his friends claim for it, the representation of the Southern States,—after the next apportionment, certainly—is to be not merely on the old three-fifths principle, but on the whole black race, man for man, as well as on the whole white race. It will hardly lie in the mouth of the Republican party, most assuredly, to refuse to the South a full representation on its whole black population. If the proclamation accomplished anything, it abolished the three-fifths principle of the Constitution—not, indeed, the way in which John Quincy Adams once tried to abolish it many years ago, by striking out all representation of those to whom it related; but by giving a full, complete five-fifths representation on the whole black population of the Southern States. I repeat, then, fellow-citizens, that it is too much the interest of the Republican party, as a party, to defer and postpone the return of the Southern States to the Union, for that party to be safely trusted with the work of restoration. (Applause.) Or, indeed, does any one imagine that those States are to be brought back without any representation? Is any one proposing to bring them back only as so many desolated and subjugated provinces, to be held for generations in a state of subjection and vassalage by enormous standing armies, and at an immeasurable cost of treasure and blood? Are we deliberately bent on having an American Hungary, or an American Poland, or an American Venice, on our continent? Do we desire to see even an American Ireland? Are all our efforts for the abolition of black slavery to end in establishing a quasi-condition of white slavery? (Cheers.) Is that what we are fighting for, under the old Liberty Flag of our fathers? ("No, no.") No, no, my friends, we must have the Old Constitutional Union again, if we have anything—with all the States and with all the rights reserved to the States or to the people, as well as with all the powers secured to the general government. (Applause.) We are not fighting for a mere territorial

Union. We are not fighting for a mere geographical area. We want, indeed, all the valleys and all the mountains and all the rivers, and all the lakes, which were ever included within the rightful limits of our once happy and prosperous land. But we want the men and women and children—white, certainly, not less than black—who have dwelt within those limits. And we want them in the old political organizations, which the Constitution has recognized, under their own State Governments, and with all the rights which belong to those governments. We want the Constitution of Washington, and Franklin, and Hamilton, and Madison, and Jay, without addition and without diminution. We want the glorious Union which that Constitution has secured to us in the past, and which, by the blessing of God overruling the madness of men, we trust, it is still destined to secure to us for the future. And Heaven forbid, that the temporary interests of any party should be suffered to interfere with the earliest practicable accomplishment of this great restoration! Heaven forbid, that this fratricidal war should be prolonged for a day or an hour, or an instant, in order to perpetuate or continue any mere party ascendancy! Heaven forbid, that so horrible a struggle should be suffered to degenerate into a great game of *Rouge et Noir*—blood and negroes—with nothing better than the spoils of office for its stake! (Cheers.) It is sometimes suggested, my friends, that the Democratic party have been too good friends with the South to be trusted in arranging this difficulty. Why, that is the very reason why they should be trusted. I have often had reason to find fault with the Southern proclivities of some of the Northern Democrats; but if those proclivities can now be turned to the account of saving the Union, they may well be forgiven for more than all the mischief they have ever done in the past. And now, bear with me once more, fellow-citizens, while I urge upon you, finally, that the principles or the policy of the Republican party, as well as their interest as a party, seem to me utterly incompatible with any early restoration of Union and peace. I refer, I need hardly say, to their policy or principles in regard to domestic slavery, as developed in the speeches of some of their leading members, and in the acts and express declarations of the President himself. We all know that the Administration have solemnly adopted the policy of complete emancipation as a necessary result of the rebellion and the war. We all know that after having rallied the country for two years on the plain, direct, constitutional issue of enforcing the laws, and restoring the Union, the President suddenly changed his hand, and, in the teeth of all his own declarations and arguments, put forth a solemn proclamation of universal emancipation. We all know that, at this moment, no man in the rebel States is allowed to return to his allegiance and resume his place as a loyal citizen, without swearing to support this proclamation, as well as to support the Constitution of the United States. And we all remember that recently, on the first authentic or unauthentic overtures of peace and submission, the President issued a formal manifesto—"To Whom it May Concern"—making an abandonment of slavery a condition precedent for even the reception of any such proposals.

THE POLICY OF "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

Meantime Mr. Secretary Seward, for whom I have nothing but the kindest feelings, and who I honestly believe regrets such extravagances as much as any of us, has expressly admitted in his recent and most extraordinary speech at Auburn, in New York, that there are those of the Republican party, "who want guarantees for swift, and universal, and complete emancipation, or they do not want the nation saved." Ah, my friends, is there not too much reason for apprehending that this class of men is more numerous than even Mr. Seward imagines, and that in the next four years they will have

acquired—even if they have not already acquired—a prevailing and paramount influence over the Administration? (Applause.) Mark the words: "Men who want guarantees for swift, and universal, and complete emancipation, or they do not want the nation saved." And this, I suppose, is what these men would call unconditional Unionism! (Laughter.) But it is what you and I, fellow-citizens, should call conditional dis-unionism, and it can hardly fail to be so stigmatized wherever it is openly encountered. Why, what have we heard of late from gentlemen holding the highest official positions under the Republican regime in my own Commonwealth of Massachusetts? What have been the most recent utterances of the most distinguished Republicans in Faneuil Hall? I will not name names, for I have no taste for personality, but I will give the precise language. From one we have the declaration that "the appeal from sire to son should go on forever and forever until the last acre of southern land, baptised by Massachusetts' blood, should be rescued from the infidels to liberty." This, certainly, would seem very like preaching an eternal crusade against southern slavery, without regard either to Union, peace, or the Constitution. From another equally distinguished Republican, we have even more distinct declaration, that "the Baltimore Convention and Abraham Lincoln ask something more than the Union as the condition of peace;" and that "he has announced in his letter 'to all whom it may concern,' that all terms of peace must begin with the abandonment of slavery." While from the same eminent source we are assured, that a vote for Abraham Lincoln is to usher in the glorious day, when the eloquence of Wendell Phillips may be enjoyed at Richmond and Charleston, as it is now enjoyed at New York and Boston." (Laughter.) I may be told, indeed, that all this is only the rant and rhapsody of fanatical rhetoricians; but I cannot so regard it. What said the resolutions adopted at this same meeting? One of them concluded by the unequivocal announcement, that "the war must go on until the pride of the (southern) leaders is humbled, their power broken, and the civil and social structure of the South reorganized on the basis of free labor, free speech, and equal rights for all before the law."

HOW LONG MUST WAR CONTINUE TO ACCOMPLISH COMPLETE EMANCIPATION?

Well, now, my friends, there can be no misunderstanding the import of this language. It is clear, explicit, unequivocal. It does not pretend that the war is to be prosecuted for the restoration of the Union, but for something more than the restoration of the Union; and it expressly defines that something more to be "the total abandonment of slavery," and "reorganization of the social structure of the South on the basis of free labor, free speech, and equal rights for all before the law." These are the ends for which the war is to be prosecuted; and it is not to be permitted to cease until these ends are accomplished. From these declarations we may form, I think, a pretty distinct idea of the prospect before us if the Republican party remains in power, and make some approximate estimate of the chances of an early peace. Why, in what millennial period are all these results to be accomplished? By what process are they to be brought about? How is this total abandonment of slavery to be enforced? Are we to wait till each individual master has filed his separate bill of release? Are we to go on fighting till each individual State has adopted amendments to those constitutions which now prohibit any such proceeding? Or shall we recognize the power of the confederate government, and wait for that to initiate and enforce this reorganization of the social structure of the South? Within what period, I say, this side of the Greek kalends, can all this be accomplished? (Cheers.) Fellow-citizens, there is not a man in the loyal States who would not rejoice with all his heart and

soul, if African slavery could be safely and legitimately brought to an end on this whole continent. The Republican party have no monopoly of the philanthropy or of the patriotism of the land, though some of them would seem to claim it. But, for one, I have never had a particle of faith that a sudden, sweeping, forcible emancipation could result in anything but mischief and misery for the black race, as well as the white. The proclamation, however, has been issued long ago, and its efficacy and its authority are to be the subjects of future experience and future adjudication. To those I willingly leave it. It was undoubtedly one of the greatest stretches of the doctrine of necessity—it was unquestionably one of the most startling exercises of the one-man power, which the history of human government, free or despotic, ever witnessed. I have no disposition to question its wisdom or its authority, as a measure adopted for securing greater success to our arms, and an earlier termination of the war—though I cannot help entertaining grave doubts on both points. But the idea that it is now to be made the pretext for prolonging that war, after the original and only legitimate end for which it was undertaken shall have been accomplished; the idea that we are to go on fighting and fighting for “something more” than the Union; the idea that the war is not to be permitted to cease until the whole social structure of the South has been reorganized, is one abhorrent to every instinct of my soul, to every dictate of my judgment, to every principle which I cherish as a statesman or as a Christian. It is a policy, too, in my opinion, utterly unconstitutional; and as much in the spirit of rebellion as almost anything which has been attempted by the Southern States. Why, does any one doubt for an instant, that if the Southern States were to lay down their arms to-morrow, and throw themselves unreservedly on their rights under the Constitution, that it would be the bounden duty of the government to receive their submission, and recognize their rights, subject only to such pains and penalties as might be legally enforced upon individuals duly convicted of treason? I have often hoped that this question might be brought to a practical test. I have often hoped, and still hope, that some one State, like the old State of North Carolina, or the great State of Georgia, might be induced to try the experiment of simply coming back under the old flag, without asking any questions, or seeking to exact in advance any conditions whatever. (Cheers.) What President, what administration, what party shall dare to stand in the way, and tell either of those States that we have ceased to fight for the Union—that we are fighting for something more than the Union, and that she must stay out until she has reorganized her whole social structure? What President, what administration, what party, shall dare to repel and repulse such a returning sister, and tell her that she cannot be readmitted to the old family household until she has prepared herself for relishing the eloquence of Wendell Phillips, justly celebrated as that eloquence may be? Why, my friends, the proclamation of the President, as an instrument for achieving success and securing submission is one thing, but a demand for the total abandonment of slavery, and the reorganization of the whole social structure of the South, as conditions precedent for receiving and accepting submission whenever it shall be tendered, and after it has been secured, is a wholly different thing. The one may, perhaps, be justified on a constructive plea of necessity. But there can be no plea of necessity after the submission is accomplished. If the States in rebellion, one or all, were simply to lay down their arms to-morrow, and throw themselves unconditionally on the old Constitution, and range themselves once more under the old flag, what else could we do, what else should we do, but receive them with open arms to the old Union of our fathers? Pains and penalties might be enforced on individual offenders. The law and the officers of the law would have all that matter to look after. But

pains and penalties would soon be almost forgotten in the joy which would pervade the country. The return of the prodigal son would be nothing to it. We should get a nearer and clearer impression than almost ever before of that exquisite idea of the good Book—that there is more joy over one sinner that repenteth, than over ninety and nine just men that need no repentance.

WHAT SHERMAN THINKS ABOUT IT.

Whatever the administration or the President might say, the great majority of the people of the United States, as I believe, would adopt the tone of that noble letter of the hero of Atlanta, when he said to the mayor of that captured city: “We don’t want your negroes, or your horses, or your houses, or your land, or anything you have; but we do want, and will have, a just obedience to the laws of the United States.” (Cheers.) “I want peace, and believe it can only be reached through Union and war, and I will ever conduct war purely with a view to early and perfect success. But, my dear sir, when that peace does come you may call on me for anything. Then will I share with you the last cracker, and watch with you to shield your homes and families against danger from every quarter. (Tremendous cheering.) Yes, not only would the gallant Sherman “watch with them to shield their homes and families against danger from every quarter,” but that whole noble army, which has done such glorious service in the West, would watch with him, and we should witness such a fraternization, and such a jubilee, as would send a thrill of joy to the heart of every real friend of Union and peace and constitutional liberty in our land. (Cheers.) We should not stop to ask whether we had obtained anything more than Union and peace. We should leave the judicial tribunals to ascertain that. We should remit that question to the constables and the court-houses. We should feel that in vindicating the authority of the Constitution and laws, and in restoring the Union of our fathers, we had prepared the way for a glorious future for our country, and had accomplished the great end for which so many noble young men had shed their blood and laid down their lives. And so we should all thank God and be joyful. (Cheers.) Undoubtedly, my friends, it is the hope of us all, that, in some way or other, sooner or later, out of this abhorrent rebellion will have come the ultimate extinction of domestic slavery. Many of us believe that, if the war were to cease to-morrow, and the Southern States were to come back without any condition or terms whatever, slavery would be found to have received a wound from which it could never recover. Mr. Seward himself, in that same extraordinary speech from which I have already quoted, has expressly told us that, practically, slavery is no longer in question. “I told you here, (he says,) a year ago, that, practically, slavery was no longer in question—that it was perishing under the operation of the war.” “That assertion,” he adds, “has been confirmed. Jefferson Davis tells you in effect the same thing.” And Jefferson Davis does indeed tell us very much the same thing, if the report is to be credited of his conversation with certain quasi-peace commissioners who went to Richmond under a pass furnished by General Grant at the request of President Lincoln. Jefferson Davis is stated in that report to have admitted that two millions of slaves—one-half of the whole number in the Southern States—had been practically freed already.

THE UNION THE ONE CONDITION OF PEACE.

But whatever may be our opinions on this point, it will be enough for us all—enough, certainly, for General McClellan and his supporters, if we shall have succeeded in restoring the Union; and I believe the people of the loyal States will agree with him and agree with us, that the war ought not to be prosecuted another day, another hour, another instant, for

any purpose under the sun, except the simple restoration of the Union. "The Union—the Union—the one condition of peace. We ask no more." (Cheers.) That is the platform of our candidate, and that is our platform. We are not for propagating philanthropy at the point of the bayonet. We are not for wading through seas of blood in order to reorganize the whole social structure of the South. Christianity forbids us; for it tells us not to do evil even that good may come. The Constitution forbids us; for, the moment the rebellion is suppressed, the war becomes unconstitutional, whatever may be its pretext. The condition of our country, which has already sent forth more than two millions of soldiers into the field, and which is already groaning beneath a debt of three or four thousand millions of dollars; the condition of our beloved country forbids us from sending another soldier, or spending another dollar, after the Union is saved. Fellow-citizens, a solemn oath to support "the Constitution of the United States as it is," is still upon all our rulers, and a solemn obligation to do so still rests upon the whole people. No rebellion elsewhere can justify rebellion on our part. We must pursue constitutional ends, and we must pursue them by constitutional means. Then we shall succeed, and then our success will be substantial and permanent. Oh, what a triumph it would be if the Constitution of our fathers should come out, after all, unscathed from this fiery trial; if it should be seen to have prevailed, by its own innate original force and vigor, over all the machinations and assaults of its enemies! How proudly, then might we hold it up before all mankind, in all time to come, as we have in all time past, as indeed the masterpiece of political and civil wisdom! How confidently could we then challenge all the world to show us a system of government of equal stability and endurance. (Cheers.) It has already stood the strain of prosperity and of adversity. Foreign wars and domestic dissensions have hitherto assailed it in vain. The rains have descended, and the winds have blown, and the floods have come and beaten upon it, but it has not been shaken. The great final test is now upon it; rebellion, revolution, civil war, in their most formidable and appalling shape. Oh, if we can but carry it through this last trial unharmed! we never again need fear for its security. Let us then hold it up—Constitution, the whole Constitution, and nothing but the Constitution—as at once the end and the instrument of all our efforts. Let us demand a faithful adherence to all its forms and to all its principles. Let us watch jealously for the observance and fulfillment of all its provisions. And let us resolve that if it does fail and fall at last, it shall be by the madness of its enemies, and not by the supineness or willing surrender of its friends. (Applause.)

MR. LINCOLN MAKING FUN OF HIMSELF—A REMINISCENCE.

Fellow-citizens, with such issues before us, I need say but little about candidates. You know already, I am sure, all that you care to know about President Lincoln. Yet, perhaps, I can recall a little passage in his public life which may at least amuse you. His only term of Congressional service was during the period when I had the honor to preside over the House of which he was a member. He helped me to the Speaker's chair by his own vote, and I really wish I could find it in my conscience to return the compliment at this moment. (Laughter.) But I cannot forget a certain speech which he made, in the month of July, 1848, in reference to the nomination for the Presidency of a distinguished Democrat who still lives (I rejoice to remember, to enjoy the esteem and respect of all who knew him.

"By the way, Mr. Speaker, (said he,) did you know that I am a military hero? Yes sir, (continued he,) in the days of the Black Hawk war, I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass's career, reminds me of my own. I was not at Sillman's defeat, but I was about as near it as Cass was to Hull's

surrender; and like him, I saw the place soon afterward. It is quite certain that I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his sword, the idea is, he broke it in desperation; I bent the musket by accident. If General Cass went in advance of me in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. (Laughter.) If he saw any live fighting Indians it was more than I did, but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitos; and, although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry. Mr. Speaker, if I should ever conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends may suppose there is of black cockade federalism about me, and thereupon they shall take me up as their candidate for the Presidency, I protest they shall not make fun of me, as they have of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero." (Great laughter.)

Ah, my friends, what a blessed thing for the country it would have been if President Lincoln had only "recked his own rede;" if, after he became President, he had not made fun of himself by attempting to play the part of a military hero? Why, it is hardly too much to say that if he had never undertaken to direct and control the course of our armies, if he had not so rashly interfered with the movements of at least one of our generals, Richmond might have been taken, and the war triumphantly terminated, long before this time. You all know the General to whom I refer, and the circumstances of that interference. (Cheers.)

GENERAL McCLELLAN'S CAREER AND MERITS.

Indeed the whole career of our noble candidate, is fresh in the minds and hearts of the whole American people. You have followed the story, I doubt not, as admirably narrated by my accomplished and excellent friend, Mr. Hillard. You have traced him through that memorable campaign in Mexico, and have not forgotten his gallantry at Contreras, where like Washington at Braddock's defeat, he had two horses shot under him, but came off substantially unharmed. (Cheers.) You have accompanied him on his visit to the scene of the Crimean war, and have not forgotten his masterly report on the armies of Europe. (Applause.) You have followed him in that glorious little pioneer campaign in Western Virginia, at the outbreak of the rebellion, and have not forgotten the brilliant victories by which that campaign was crowned. (Applause.) You have seen him assume the command of the whole forces of the Union, and have not forgotten with what devotion, and with what consummate skill, he organized the grand Army of the Potomac. (Applause.) You have followed him through that terrible Peninsular campaign. (Cheers.) You have accompanied him through these fearful seven days of agony and glory. (Cheers.) You have seen how cruelly he was thwarted and stripped of his troops on the right hand and on the left, and you have not forgotten how bravely he bore up under all the grievous disappointments to which he was subjected. You have seen him assuming command again at the solicitation of the President, at an hour of the greatest peril to our capital and our country—reorganizing as by magic the brave but broken battalions of the Army of the Potomac, and achieving the glorious victory of Antietam on the very birthday of the Constitution. (Immense cheering.) And you have not failed to read his admirable dispatch from Harrison's Landing, his brilliant oration at West Point, and his noble letter accepting the nomination for the presidency. (Cheers.) No words of mine, no words of anybody could add anything to such a record. No words of his enemies can take away one jot or tittle from that record. I have no disposition to exaggerate his services or his merits, much less to disparage those of others. We all know that other commanders have done nobly, and have achieved victories which have entitled them to the honor and

gratitude of the whole country. It has been their fortune, however, to be let alone. Many of them, too, are still in the field, privileged still to lead the armies and fight the battles of their country, instead of being unjustly deprived of their command and inexorably doomed to inaction. There will be an opportunity for doing full justice to their deserts hereafter. But what can be more fit, than for the people of the United States now to take up this young and gallant leader whom the rulers have so wantonly rejected, and to place him where his experience and abilities may be turned to account for the rescue of his country? In the full vigor of manhood, without a stain or a shade upon his character, a man of virtuous life and Christian principle, brave, prudent, patriotic, a stranger to all mere party politics a perfect stranger to anything like political management or political intrigue, one who has known how to command a great army and has never forgotten how to command himself, with no pledges on his lips or in his heart, except to the enforcement of the laws, the vindication of the Constitution, and the restoration of the Union;—what is there wanting in him to attract the confidence and support of all loyal men, and to secure the respect and admiration even of his enemies? (Loud and continued cheering.) Let me not forget, however, to remind you, my friends, that he has in his veins, in common with so many of you, and in common, as I am glad to remember, with myself, too, a little good old Connecticut blood, coming down from an ancestor who settled here a century ago. I am sure you will not think any the worse of him for that. (Cheers.)

A BIT OF TESTIMONY FROM THE SOUTH.

I fear, my friends, that I have already detained you too long. My own strength, certainly, will hardly hold out longer, even if your indulgence and your patience be not already exhausted. But I must not take my leave of you without giving you a little piece of testimony of the highest interest and importance. Among the refugees from Atlanta, immediately after its capture, there came within our lines not many days ago a person of the most estimable and excellent character, who had enjoyed the best opportunities of understanding the southern heart. And what said he, do you think, on being interrogated as to the prospects of the future? I can give you his remarks from the most authentic source. They were communicated to me by a good friend of the Union in one of the border states. "If Mr. Lincoln is re-elected," said he, "the people of the South will fight for thirty years, for they feel that they can do nothing better, but if McClellan is elected, such an overwhelming Union party will be formed in the South, that peace will be the almost immediate result." ("That's so." Loud cheers.) "I speak," said he, "the sentiments of the people, not the officials. The leaders of the rebellion are anxious for the re-election of Mr. Lincoln, as giving most hope of the ultimate success of the rebel cause. But the people," he added, "respect McClellan, and believe in his honesty, capacity, and patriotism; and, being heartily tired of the war, they will be willing to trust him." (Cheers.) Such is the latest and most authentic testimony from the very heart of the Southern Confederacy. It was communicated to me from a source entitled to the highest confidence, and it concurs, I need hardly say, with every opinion which I have been able to form for myself. I do firmly and honestly believe that, if by the aid of this good old State of Connecticut, George Brinton McClellan shall be proclaimed President of the United States of America on the 4th day of March next, as I hope and trust he may be (cheers), another year will not have expired without witnessing the final termination of the rebellion; and that the succeeding 4th of July will find us celebrating such a jubilee as has not been seen since that day was first hailed as the birthday of American independence. (Continued cheering.) I do not forget

the danger of indulging in these ninety-days, or even twelve-months prophecies. ("That's so, too," and laughter.) I do not forget how many memorable warnings we have had of their fallacy. I can only say, that in that hope, in that trust, in that firm and unswerving confidence, I shall give my vote to the candidate of the Democratic party; and whether that vote shall prove to have been cast with the many or with the few, with majorities or with minorities, I shall feel that I have followed the dictates of my own best judgment, of my own conscientious convictions of duty, and of my own unalterable attachment and devotion to the Constitution and the Union of my country. (Loud cheering.)

DO NOT DESPAIR OF THE REPUBLIC.

I will not undertake to calculate the chances of success. The results of the late elections seem to decide nothing, except that the great battle is still to be fought, and that a victory is still within our reach. But whatever may be the results of the election, let us resolve never to despair of the republic. We are on the eve of one of the most memorable anniversaries in our history as a nation. Eighty-three years ago to-morrow, on the 19th of October, 1781, the soil of Virginia was the scene of a far different spectacle from that which it unhappily witnesses at this hour. The soldiers of the North and of the South, instead of confronting each other in deadly strife, were then standing triumphantly side by side, under the glorious lead of Washington, to receive the final surrender of the forces which had been so long arrayed against our national independence. Would to Heaven that the precious memories of that event might be once more revived in every American heart! Would to Heaven that even now the associations of that day might overpower and disarm the unnatural hostility of our adversaries, and that the soldiers of the North and South might be seen like the soldiers in the old Roman story, rushing into each other's embrace under the old flag of our fathers! But even if such a result is to be longer, and still longer, and still longer postponed, let us never despair that such a day of final surrender will come; a day when rebellion will be everywhere suppressed and extinguished; a day when a policy of Christian statesmanship, breathing something better than threatenings and slaughter, and based upon a juster idea than that the whole southern people are barbarians and outlaws, shall accomplish its legitimate work of restoring Union and peace to our afflicted land—a day when, by the blessing of God, that glorious vision of Daniel Webster may again be verified for us and for our children, from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, and from ocean to ocean: "One country, one Constitution, one destiny." (Enthusiastic cheers.) And when that day shall come, I can desire for myself no other distinction than to be thought not unworthy of some humble share in that inscription which was engraved on the old tomb of my ancestors two centuries and a half ago—before New London, before even Boston, had a name or a local habitation on the American continent—"*Beati Sunt Pacifici*,"—blessed are the peace-makers. I can desire no other distinction for myself, than to be remembered among those who, in the words of our noble candidate, "would hail with unbounded joy the permanent restoration of peace on the basis of the Union under the Constitution, without the effusion of another drop of blood." (Loud and continued applause.)

The chairman said: My friends, I know you are anxious to testify your approbation of the eloquent and statesmanlike speech to which you have just listened, I therefore call upon you as the best method of doing so to give three cheers for the speaker.

They were given enthusiastically. After three hearty cheers for McClellan, the meeting adjourned.

GENERAL McCLELLAN'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

ORANGE, NEW JERSEY, }
September 8, 1864. }

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter informing me of my nomination by the Democratic National Convention, recently assembled at Chicago, as their candidate at the next election for President of the United States.

It is unnecessary for me to say to you that this nomination comes to me unsought.

I am happy to know that when the nomination was made the record of my public life was kept in view.

The effect of long and varied service in the army during war and peace, has been to strengthen and make indelible in my mind and heart the love and reverence for the Union, Constitution, laws, and flag of our country, impressed upon me in early youth.

These feelings have thus far guided the course of my life, and must continue to do so to its end.

The existence of more than one government over the region which once owned our flag is incompatible with the peace, the power, and the happiness of the people.

The preservation of our Union was the sole avowed object for which the war was commenced. It should have been conducted for that object only, and in accordance with those principles which I took occasion to declare when in active service.

Thus conducted, the work of reconciliation would have been easy, and we might have reaped the benefits of our many victories on land and sea.

The Union was originally formed by the exercise of a spirit of conciliation and compromise. To restore and preserve it, the same spirit must prevail in our councils, and in the hearts of the people.

The reëstablishment of the Union in all its integrity is, and must continue to be, the indispensable condition in any settlement. So soon as it is clear, or even probable, that our present adversaries are ready for peace, upon the basis of the Union, we should exhaust all the resources of statesmanship practised by civilized nations; and taught by the traditions of the American

people, consistent with the honor and interests of the country, to secure such peace, reëstablish the Union, and guarantee for the future the constitutional rights of every State. The Union is the one condition of peace—we ask no more.

Let me add, what I doubt not was, although unexpressed, the sentiment of the Convention, as it is of the people they represent, that when any one State is willing to return to the Union, it should be received at once, with a full guarantee of all its constitutional rights.

If a frank, earnest, and persistent effort to obtain those objects should fail, the responsibility for ulterior consequences will fall upon those who remain in arms against the Union. But the Union must be preserved at all hazards.

I could not look in the face of my gallant comrades of the army and navy, who have survived so many bloody battles, and tell them that their labors and the sacrifice of so many of our slain and wounded brethren had been in vain; that we had abandoned that Union for which we have so often periled our lives.

A vast majority of our people, whether in the army and navy or at home, would, as I would, hail with unbounded joy the permanent restoration of peace, on the basis of the Union under the Constitution, without the effusion of another drop of blood. But no peace can be permanent without Union.

As to the other subjects presented in the resolutions of the Convention, I need only say that I should seek, in the Constitution of the United States and the laws framed in accordance therewith, the rule of my duty, and the limitations of executive power; endeavor to restore economy in public expenditure, reëstablish the supremacy of law, and, by the operation of a more vigorous nationality, resume our commanding position among the nations of the earth.

The condition of our finances, the depreciation of the paper money, and the burdens thereby imposed on labor and capital, show the necessity of a return to a sound financial system; while the rights

of citizens, and the rights of States, and the binding authority of law over President, army, and people, are subjects of not less vital importance in war than in peace.

Believing that the views here expressed are those of the Convention and the people you represent, I accept the nomination.

I realize the weight of the responsibility to be borne should the people ratify your choice.

Conscious of my own weakness, I can only seek fervently the guidance of the Ruler of the universe, and, relying on

His all-powerful aid, do my best to restore union and peace to a suffering people, and to establish and guard their liberties and rights,

I am, gentlemen,
very respectfully,
your obedient servant,

GEO. B. McCLELLAN.

HON. HORATIO SEYMOUR,
and others, Committee.

General McClellan's Views of the War and the Country.

The Harrison's Bar Letter.

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
Camp near Harrison's Landing, Va., July 7, 1862.

MR. PRESIDENT: You have been fully informed that the rebel army is in our front, with the purpose of overwhelming us by attacking our positions, or reducing us by blockading our river communications. I cannot but regard our condition as critical; and I earnestly desire in view of possible contingencies, to lay before your Excellency, for your private consideration, my general views concerning the existing state of the rebellion, although they do not strictly relate to the situation of this army, or strictly come within scope of my official duties. These views amount to convictions; and are deeply impressed upon my mind and heart. Our cause must never be abandoned; it is the cause of free institutions and self-government. The Constitution and the Union must be preserved, whatever may be the cost in time, treasure or blood. If secession is successful, other dissolutions are clearly to be seen in the future. Let neither military disaster, political faction, or foreign war, shake your settled purpose to enforce the equal operation of the laws of the United States upon the people of every State.

The time has come when the Government must determine upon a civil and military policy covering the whole ground of our national trouble. The responsibility of determining, declaring, and supporting such civil and military policy, and of directing the whole course of national affairs in regard to the rebellion must now be assumed and exercised by you, or our cause will be lost. The Constitution gives you power sufficient even for the present terrible emergency.

This rebellion has assumed the character of war; as such it should be regarded; and it should be conducted upon the highest principles known to Christian civilization. It should not be a war looking to the subjugation of the people of any State, in any event. It should not be at all a war upon population, but against armed forces and political organizations. Neither confiscation of property, political executions of persons, territorial organizations of States, or forcible abolition of slavery, should be contemplated for a moment. In prosecuting the war, all private property and unarmed persons should be strictly protected, subject only to the necessity of military operations. All private property, taken for military use, should be paid or receipted for; pillage and waste should be treated as high crimes; all unnecessary trespass sternly prohibited, and offensive demeanor by the military towards citizens promptly rebuked. Military arrests should not be tolerated, except in places where active hostilities exist; and oaths not required by enactments constitutionally made, should be neither demanded nor received. Military govern-

ment should be confined to the preservation of public order, and the protection of political rights. Military power should not be allowed to interfere with the relations of servitude, either by supporting or impairing the authority of the master, except for suppressing disorder, as in other cases. Slaves contraband under the act of Congress, seeking military protection, should receive it. The right of the Government to appropriate permanently to its own service claims to slave labor, should be asserted; and the right of the owner to compensation therefor should be recognized.

This principle might be extended, upon grounds of military necessity and security, to all the slaves within a particular State; thus working manumission in such State; and in Missouri, perhaps in Western Virginia also, and possibly even in Maryland, the expediency of such a measure is only a question of time.

A system of policy thus constitutional and conservative, and pervaded by the influences of Christianity and freedom, would receive the support of almost all truly loyal men; would deeply impress the rebel masses and all foreign nations, and it might be humbly hoped that it would commend itself to the favor of the Almighty.

Unless the principles governing the future conduct of our struggle shall be made known and approved, the effort to obtain requisite forces will be almost hopeless. A declaration of radical views, especially upon slavery, will rapidly disintegrate our present armies.

The policy of the Government must be supported by concentration of military power. The national forces should not be dispersed in expeditions, posts of occupation and numerous armies; but should be mainly collected into masses, and brought to bear upon the armies of the Confederate States. Those armies thoroughly defeated, the political structure which they support will soon cease to exist.

In carrying out any system of policy which you may form, you will require a commander-in-chief of the army; one who possesses your confidence, understands your views, and who is competent to execute your orders by directing the military forces of the nation to the accomplishment of the objects by you proposed. I do not ask that place for myself. I am willing to serve you in such position as you may assign me, and I will do so as faithfully as ever subordinate served superior.

I may be on the brink of eternity; and as I hope for forgiveness from my Maker, I have written this letter with sincerity towards you and from love of my country.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,

G. B. McCLELLAN,
Major-General Commanding.

HENRY CLAY.

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH OF THE HON. HENRY CLAY, IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, ON THE SUBJECT OF ABOLITION PETITIONS, FEBRUARY 7, 1839.

"SIR,—I am not in the habit of speaking lightly of the possibility of dissolving this happy Union. The Senate knows that I have deprecated allusions, on ordinary occasions, to that direful event. The country will testify, that, if there be anything in the history of my public career worthy of recollection, it is the truth and sincerity of my ardent devotion to its lasting preservation. But we should be false in our allegiance to it if we did not discriminate between the imaginary and the real dangers by which it may be assisted. Abolition should no longer be regarded as an imaginary danger. The Abolitionists, let me suppose, succeed in their present aims of uniting the inhabitants of the Free States as one man, against the inhabitants of the Slave States. Union on the one side will beget union on the other. And this process of reciprocal consolidation will be attended with all the violent prejudices, imbittered passions, and implacable animosities which ever degraded or deformed human nature. A virtual dissolution of the Union will have already taken place, whilst the form of its existence remains. The most valuable element of union, mutual kindness, the feelings of sympathy, the fraternal bonds, which now happily unite us, will have been extinguished forever. One section will stand in menacing and hostile array against the other. The collision of opinion will be quickly followed by the clash of arms. I will not attempt to describe scenes which now lie happily concealed from our view. Abolitionists themselves would shrink back in dismay and horror at the contemplation of desolated fields, conflagrated cities, murdered inhabitants, and the overthrow of the fairest fabric of human government that ever rose to animate the hopes of civilized man. Nor should these Abolitionists flatter themselves, that, if they can succeed in their object of uniting the Free States, they will enter the contest with a numerical superiority that must insure victory. All history and experience proves the hazard and uncer-

tainty of war; and we are admonished by Holy Writ, "that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong." But if they were to conquer, whom would they conquer? A foreign foe? one that had invaded our shores, insulted our flag, and laid our country waste? No, sir; no, sir. It would be a contest without laurels, without glory,—a self, a suicidal conquest,—a conquest of brothers over brothers,—achieved by one over another portion of the descendants of common ancestors, who, nobly pledging their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, had fought and bled, side by side, in many a hard battle on land and ocean, severed our country from the British crown, and established our national independence.

The inhabitants of the Slave States are sometimes accused by their Northern brethren with displaying too much rashness and sensibility to the operations and proceedings of Abolitionists. But, before they can be rightly judged, there should be a reversal of conditions. Let me suppose that the people of the Slave States were to form societies, subsidize presses, make large pecuniary contributions, send forth numerous missionaries throughout all their own borders, and enter into machinations to burn the beautiful capitals, destroy the productive manufactories, and sink into the ocean the gallant ships of the Northern States. Would these incendiary proceedings be regarded as neighborly, and friendly, and consistent with the fraternal sentiments which should ever be cherished by one portion of the Union towards another? Would they excite no emotion, occasion no manifestations of dissatisfaction, nor lead to any acts of retaliatory violence? But the supposed case falls far short of the actual one, in a most essential circumstance. In no contingency could these capitals, manufactories, and ships rise in rebellion and massacre inhabitants of the Northern States.

"I am, Mr. President, no friend of slavery. The Searcher of all hearts

knows that every pulsation of mine beats high and strong in the cause of civil liberty. Whenever 'it is safe and practicable I desire to see every portion of the human family in the enjoyment of it. But I prefer the liberty of my own country to that of any other people; and the liberty of my own race to that of any other race. The liberty of the descendants of Africa in the United States is incompatible with the safety and liberty of the European descendants. Their slavery forms an

exception — an exception resulting from a stern and inexorable necessity — to the general liberty in the United States. We did not originate, nor are we responsible for, this necessity. Their liberty, if it were possible, could only be established by violating the incontestable powers of the States, and subverting the Union. And beneath the ruins of the Union would be buried, sooner or later, the liberty of both races."

THE MEANEST MAN IN CREATION.

We ask the attention of readers to the following extract from Judge Abbott's late speech at Boston: —

Let me ask for a moment who these men are who denounce those who appeal to the better part of man's nature? For twenty years past they have endeavored to destroy the Union; year in and year out they have denounced the glorious Constitution — the ark of our safety, as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell;" who have scouted at and denounced the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is, and these are the men who denounce you and me. They don't want the Union. They are the men who have talked about war, war that is to last always, but who never have and never will risk a hair of their own miserable heads. When they talk of war they mean to risk the lives of your children and mine, while they remain at home. They belong to the class you have heard of before, who are willing to sacrifice all their wives' relations, and even consent to sacrifice their first cousins in the war, but not a mother's son of them will even get within the sound of a bullet.

They are the men who get your children and mine under false pretences — not for the Constitution, but for the negro. When they have got of us all they can get, —

thank God they can get no more of mine, — their patriotism expends itself in buying negroes, and in sending to Germany for recruits to fight in a war they don't care anything about. Do you — I mean to be plain — do you want to know who is the meanest, most despicable creature, animal — I'll not call him man — who crawls? I'll tell you.

Voices — Wilson! Sumner!

Abbott — Gentlemen, don't call names. I'll describe a class. It is the man who constantly appeals to the worst passions of our nature; who is constantly urging us to battle, and who has not courage, ability, or capacity to risk a hair of his own head. You think of that, and when you have found such a man, you have found one of the most miserable wretches who crawls. That is one class. There is another. They who are constantly denouncing us if we say a word for peace and Union. If you ask these men to turn their pockets inside out, you will find them stuffed with "greenbacks," the spoils of your industry and mine. They want war because it means power and spoils. Of course these patent patriots don't want to end the war. These are the men who find fault with us because we want to restore the Union.

WATCHWORDS FOR PATRIOTS.

MOTTOES FOR THE CAMPAIGN, SELECTED FROM GENERAL McCLELLAN'S WRITINGS.

Our cause must never be abandoned ; it is the cause of free institutions and self-government. — *Harrison's Landing Letter.*

We are fighting solely for the integrity of the Union, to uphold the power of our national government, and to restore to the nation the blessings of peace and good order. — *Instructions to General Halleck, November 11, 1861.*

You will please constantly to bear in mind the precise issue for which we are fighting ; that issue is the preservation of the Union and the restoration of the full authority of the general government over all portions of our territory. — *Instructions to General Buell, November 7, 1861.*

We shall most readily suppress this rebellion and restore the authority of the government by religiously respecting the constitutional rights of all. — *Instructions to General Buell, November 7, 1861.*

Be careful so to treat the unarmed inhabitants as to contract, not widen, the breach existing between us and the rebels. — *Instructions to General Buell, November 12, 1861.*

I have always found that it is the tendency of subordinates to make vexatious arrests on mere suspicion. — *Instructions to General Buell, November 12, 1861.*

Say as little as possible about politics or the negro. — *Instructions to General Burnside, January 7, 1862.*

The unity of this nation, the preservation of our institutions, are so dear to me that I have willingly sacrificed my private happiness with the single object of doing my duty to my country. — *Letter to Secretary Cameron, October, 1861.*

The Constitution and the Union must be preserved, whatever may be the cost in time, treasure, or blood. — *Harrison's Bar Letter.*

Neither confiscation of property, political executions of persons, territorial organization of States, nor forcible abolition of slavery should be contemplated for a moment. — *Letter to President Lincoln, July 7, 1862.*

In prosecuting this war, all private property and unarmed persons should be strictly protected, subject to the necessity of military operations. — *Letter to the President, July 7, 1862.*

Military arrests should not be tolerated, except in places where active hostilities exist ; and oaths, not required by enactments constitutionally made, should be neither demanded nor received. — *Letter to the President, July 7, 1862.*

It should not be a war looking to the subjugation of the people of any State in any event. It should not be at all a war upon populations, but against armed forces and political organizations. — *Harrison's Bar Letter.*

If it is not deemed best to entrust me with the command even of my own army, I simply ask to be permitted to share their fate on the field of battle. — *Despatch to General Halleck, August 30, 1862.*

In the arrangement and conduct of campaigns the direction should be left to professional soldiers. — *General McClellan's Report.*

By pursuing the political course I have always advised, it is possible to bring about a permanent restoration of the Union — a re-union by which the rights of both sections shall be preserved, and by which both parties shall preserve their self-respect, while they respect each other. — *General McClellan's Report.*

I am devoutly grateful to God that my last campaign was crowned with a victory which saved the nation from the greatest peril it had then undergone. — *General McClellan's Report.*

At such a time as this, and in such a struggle, political partisanship should be merged in a true and brave patriotism, which thinks only of the good of the whole country. — *General McClellan's West Point Oration.*

A system of policy thus constitutional and conservative, and pervaded by the influences of Christianity and freedom, would receive the support of almost all truly loyal men, would deeply impress the rebel masses and all foreign nations, and it might be humbly hoped that it would commend itself to the favor of the Almighty. — *Harrison's Bar Letter.*

MARK THE CONTRAST.

DEMOCRATIC PRICES.

Teas.....	45a50c
Sugars	8 9c
Coffees	14 16c
Nutmegs	50 55c
Pepper	8 9c
Allspice	6 8c
Cinnamon	20 22c

Groceries.

ABOLITION PRICES.

Teas.....	\$1 00a\$2 50
Sugars	20 30
Coffees	65
Nutmegs	\$2 00
Pepper.....	65
Allspice	50
Cinnamon	\$1 00

Dry Goods — Domestic.

Brown Sheetings.....	8½c per yd.
Prints, Calicoes, etc.	5½c “
Bleached Muslins.....	5½c “
Canton Flannels	10c “

Brown Sheetings.....	65c per yd.
Prints, Calicoes, etc.	40c “
Bleached Muslins	75c “
Canton Flannels	90c “

Foreign.

Delaines	15½c per yd.
Dress Goods.....	25c “
Velvets	\$2 50c “

Delaines	75c per yd.
Dress Goods.....	80c “
Velvets	\$12 00c “

Raw Cotton, Etc.

Cotton Laps	18c per lb.
Wadding.....	40c “
Carpet Chain	20c “
Lamp Wick.....	20c “

Cotton Laps	\$1 75 per lb.
Wadding.....	2 20 “
Carpet Chain	1 10 “
Lamp Wick	1 50 “

Metals, Etc.

Lead.....	6c per lb.
Antimony	13c “
Block Tin	31c “

Lead	32c per lb.
Antimony	75c “
Block Tin	90c “

Coal,

Of which the poor man's fire consumes as much as that which blazes in the rich man's fire—in former days could be had for *four or five dollars*; it now costs *fourteen and fifteen dollars*.

Cloths.

Satinets.....	45a50c per yd	\$1 76 per yd.
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Broadcloths, Cassimeres, etc., have increased from 106 to 150 per cent.

DRUGS have increased in price on an average of 200 per cent.

TOBACCO — Manufactured Cavendish Tobacco has risen from 35 cents to \$1 25 per pound.

CIGARS have advanced from \$20 to \$60 and \$200 per thousand.

FOREIGN STATIONERY, since the scarcity of specie, has risen 50 per cent.